

Message Text

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EXDIS, FOR AMB. YOUNG FROM TARNOFF

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (CARTER, JIMMY)

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S LAGOS SPEECH

1. FOLLOWING IS THE MOST RECENT DRAFT OF THE PRESIDENT'S
SPEECH. JIM FALLOWS HAS ASKED FOR YOUR COMMENTS.

2. BEGIN TEXT: I AM PROUD AND DEEPLY MOVED TO BE THE
FIRST AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO PAY A STATE VISIT TO SUB-
SAHARAN AFRICA, AS THE GUEST OF YOUR GREAT NATION.

AFRICA HAS BEEN MUCH IN MY THOUGHTS DURING THE PAST 15
MONTHS. I HAVE WORKED CLOSELY WITH YOUR DISTINGUISHED
CHIEF OF STATE, GENERAL OBASANJO, AND WITH OTHER AFRICAN
LEADERS.

TO ALL, I HAVE OFFERED AMERICA'S SUPPORT IN PURSUIT OF OUR
COMMON INTERESTS AND HOPES. I FEEL A NEW SPIRIT OF
INVOLVEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA -- A
SPIRIT OF HONESTY AND OPENNESS WHICH WILL ALLOW US TO
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AGREE, AND SOMETIMES DISAGREE, AS FRIENDS AND EQUALS.

FROM THE VERY BEGINNING AFRICANS HAVE BEEN AN IMPORTANT
PART OF OUR HISTORY, FOR THE FIRST BLACKS CAME TO JAMES-
TOWN ONLY A DOZEN YEARS AFTER THE BRITISH. OUR 23 MILLION
CITIZENS OF AFRICAN DESCENT HAVE ENRICHED OUR COUNTRY IN
COUNTLESS WAYS.

AND TODAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE A GROWING INTEREST IN
THE HISTORY AND THE CULTURAL RICHNESS OF THE AFRICAN

CONTINENT. SUCH THINGS AS THIS MONTH'S EXHIBIT OF NIGERIAN REGIONAL ARTS IN WASHINGTON ARE HELPING US TO BECOME FAMILIAR WITH YOUR 2000-YEAR ARTISTIC TRADITION.

AS WE LEARN MORE AND MORE ABOUT AFRICAN CULTURE, MANY AMERICANS ARE LOOKING BACK WITH INCREASED INTEREST TO THEIR ORIGINS. ONE OF OUR RENOWNED BLACK POETS, COUNTTEE CULLEN, DESCRIBED HIS HERITAGE FROM HIS FOREFATHERS BY SAYING, "WHO PLANTS A SEED BEGETS A BUD, EXTRACT OF THE SAME ROOT...."

THE SEARCH FOR THESE ORIGINS WAS THE SUBJECT OF THE EXTRAORDINARILY POPULAR HISTORICAL NOVEL, "ROOTS." LAST YEAR THE BOOK FORMED THE BASIS FOR THE MOST WIDELY VIEWED TELEVISION DRAMA OF ALL TIME. I, LIKE TENS OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS OF EVERY BACKGROUND, WAS PROFOUNDLY STIRRED BY THIS MAJOR CULTURAL EVENT.

THUS WE ARE BOUND TOGETHER BY STRONG CULTURAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TIES -- AND YET TOO OFTEN THE PROBLEMS OF YOUR CONTINENT HAVE INTERESTED MY COUNTRY ONLY INsofar AS THEY FORMED PART OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE FORMER COLONIAL POWERS OR, MORE RECENTLY, WITH THE COMMUNIST SECRET

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WORLD.

I PLEDGE MYSELF TO A NEW SPIRIT OF INVOLVEMENT IN WHICH WE WILL DEAL WITH AFRICA AS AFRICA. WE WILL APPROACH EACH OF YOUR NATIONS AS A COUNTRY WITH ITS OWN PARTICULAR PROBLEMS AND NEEDS.

UNFORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, WE CANNOT BY OURSELVES REMOVE AFRICA FROM THE EAST-WEST CONTEXT. OUTSIDE POWERS PERSIST IN ATTEMPTS TO MANIPULATE AFRICAN PROBLEMS IN TERMS OF A COLD WAR APPROACH THAT SHOULD HAVE LONG SINCE BEEN PUT ASIDE.

STILL, OUR OWN ATTITUDE TOWARDS AFRICA WILL CONTINUE TO BE SHAPED BY THE BASIC COMMITMENTS THAT AFRICA AND AMERICA SHARE FOR THE FUTURE:

-- A COMMITMENT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, FREE FROM MILITARY INTERFERENCE BY NATIONS OUTSIDE THE CONTINENT;

-- A COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC GROWTH AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT THAT MEETS THE BASIC NEEDS OF PEOPLE IN EVERY NATION;
-- A COMMITMENT TO MAJORITY RULE AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS.

LET ME DISCUSS EACH OF THESE GOALS IN TURN.

AFRICANS THEMSELVES CAN BEST FIND THE ANSWERS TO AFRICAN DISPUTES, THROUGH THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND, WHEN NEEDED, WITH THE HELP OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

AFRICA MUST NOT BE TURNED INTO A BATTLEGROUND WHERE SURROGATE ARMIES SERVE OUTSIDE AMBITIONS. SUCH MILITARY INTERVENTION BY OUTSIDE POWERS TOO OFTEN MAKES LOCAL CONFLICTS EVEN MORE COMPLICATED AND DANGEROUS.

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THIS IS ONE OF THE REASONS WE ARE OPPOSED TO SUCH INTERVENTIONS, AND SUPPORT SO STRONGLY THE PRINCIPLE OF AFRICAN SELF-DETERMINATION AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.

AND THIS IS WHY WE APPLAUD NIGERIA'S LEADING ROLE IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO SUCH TRAGEDIES AS THE RECENT STRUGGLE BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA.

ALTHOUGH I WILL REMAIN CAREFUL TO SEE THAT OUR FRIENDS ARE NOT PUT AT A DISADVANTAGE, I AM WORKING TO CURB OUR OWN ROLE AS A SUPPLIER OF ARMS TO AFRICA -- AND WE URGE OTHERS TO SHOW SIMILAR RESTRAINT. WE PREFER TO SEEK GOOD RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN NATIONS THROUGH THE WORKS OF PEACE, NOT OF WAR.

PLAINLY, MILITARY RESTRAINT BY OUTSIDERS CAN BEST BE BROUGHT ABOUT IF AFRICAN NATIONS ACTIVELY SEEK THAT RESTRAINT. MY COUNTRY WOULD WELCOME REGIONAL UNDERSTANDINGS AMONG AFRICAN NATIONS THAT WOULD LIMIT THE FLOW OF ARMS INTO THIS CONTINENT -- AND WOULD ABIDE BY SUCH UNDERSTANDINGS.

SUCH AGREEMENTS, BY FREEING RESOURCES FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES, WOULD HELP REACH OUR SECOND GREAT COMMON GOAL: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT THROUGH EQUITABLE ECONOMIC PROGRESS.

MY COUNTRY IS READY TO DO ITS FAIR SHARE TO SUPPORT AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT, BOTH BECAUSE IT IS IN OUR OWN INTEREST AND BECAUSE IT IS RIGHT.

MORE AND MORE, THE ECONOMIC WELL-BEING OF AMERICA DEPENDS ON OUR TRADE WITH THE LESS DEVELOPED NATIONS. A GOOD EXAMPLE IS THE BENEFITS TO BOTH OUR COUNTRIES FROM
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THE GROWING TRADE BETWEEN US, WHICH NOW STANDS AT MORE THAN DOLS 7 BILLION A YEAR.

I HAVE ASKED OUR CONGRESS TO INCREASE OUR DEVELOPMENT

ASSISTANCE TO AFRICAN NATIONS FROM DOLS 214 MILLION THIS YEAR TO DOLS 294 MILLION NEXT YEAR, INCLUDING A DOLS 90 MILLION CONTRIBUTION TO THE SAHEL DEVELOPMENT FUND. AND, ON MY RETURN TO WASHINGTON, I WILL RECOMMEND THAT THE UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTE (DOLS 150) MILLION TO THE SECOND REPLENISHMENT OF THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FUND.

AND THE 2,500 PEACE CORPS MEMBERS WILL CONTINUE TO LEND THEIR SKILLS -- AS WELL AS ENRICHING OUR OWN COUNTRY ON THEIR RETURN WITH THE CULTURAL AND HUMAN VALUES THEY LEARN FROM YOU.

THERE ARE OTHER WAYS, TOO, IN WHICH WE CAN COOPERATE FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT.

WE CAN DO SO BY MAKING TRADE BETWEEN US INCREASINGLY FREE AND FAIR. PRIVATE INVESTMENT CAN HELP, UNDER ARRANGEMENTS BENEFITTING BOTH INVESTORS AND HOST COUNTRIES. AND TECHNOLOGY CAN MADE A CRUCIAL DIFFERENCE.

WE ARE READY TO SHARE WITH YOU OUR SPACE TECHNOLOGY SO THAT NATIONAL TELEVISION SYSTEMS CAN SERVE YOUR EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ENDS, AND SO THAT DATA COLLECTED BY SATELLITE CAN HELP YOU MANAGE YOUR ENVIRONMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES BETTER.

AND I AM GIVING NEW PRIORITY TO IMPROVING HEALTH AROUND THE WORLD. I AM THEREFORE ORDERING A STUDY OF HOW WE CAN BEST WORK WITH THE NATIONS OF AFRICA TO DEAL WITH THE KILLING AND CRIPPLING DISEASES THAT SO AFFLICT THIS CONTINENT.

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THREE DAYS AGO I SPOKE IN CARACAS ABOUT OUR COMMITMENT TO INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC GROWTH AND EQUITY. ALL OF US CAN PROSPER IF WE ACT FAIRLY TOWARD ONE ANOTHER. ALL OF US MUST THEREFORE COME TO FAIR AGREEMENTS ON SUCH INTERNATIONAL ISSUES AS STABILIZING COMMODITY PRICES AND RELIEVING THE DEBT BURDEN OF THE POOREST NATIONS.

AND EVERY GOVERNMENT HAS THE OBLIGATION TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC JUSTICE AT HOME AS WELL AS WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE WILL GO INCREASINGLY TO THOSE AREAS WHERE IT CAN MAKE THE MOST CONTRIBUTION TO THE ECONOMIC RIGHTS OF POOR PEOPLE.

BY "ECONOMIC RIGHTS," I MEAN THAT EVERY PERSON HAS THE RIGHT NOT ONLY TO INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, BUT ALSO TO THE EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE, NUTRITION AND EMPLOYMENT WHICH ALLOW MEN AND WOMEN TO BUILD BETTER LIVES. THIS CHALLENGE FACES ALL NATIONS, RICH AND POOR ALIKE.

INJUSTICE COMES IN MANY FORMS. WHETHER BASED ON RACE OR BASED ON PRIVILEGE, IT REMAINS INJUSTICE AND MUST BE OPPOSED. OPPRESSION OF BLACKS BY BLACK GOVERNMENTS IS AS REPREHENSIBLE AS OPPRESSION OF BLACKS BY WHITE MINORITY GOVERNMENTS. WE WILL SIDE WITH THOSE WHO ARE WORKING FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION THROUGHOUT AFRICA, NO MATTER WHO THE OPPRESSORS ARE.

I AM GREATLY ENCOURAGED THAT THE AFRICA GROUP AT THE UNITED NATIONS MOVED THIS YEAR TO CONSIDER THE OPPRESSIVE POLICIES OF ONE OF ITS OWN MEMBER NATIONS.

I AM ENCOURAGED, TOO, BY THE PROGRESS TOWARD DEMOCRACY BEING MADE BY MANY OF THE NATIONS OF AFRICA. NIGERIA IS
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AN OUTSTANDING EXAMPLE. THE TWO FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS YOU HAVE ALREADY HELD LEAVE NO DOUBT THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT IS DETERMINED TO PURSUE ITS COURAGEOUS DECISION TO ESTABLISH CIVILIAN RULE BY 1979.

SEVERAL OTHER AFRICAN NATIONS, INCLUDING UPPER VOLTA, GHANA AND RWANDA, ARE ALSO MOVING TOWARD CIVILIAN RULE OR HAVE ANNOUNCED THEIR INTENTION TO DO SO.

THE EXPERIENCE OF THESE AND OTHER NATIONS REFUTES THE ARGUMENT THAT DENIAL OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES IS A NECESSARY STAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NATION.

THE GAMBIA AND BOTSWANA ARE AMONG THE POOREST NATIONS OF THE WORLD--AND YET THEIR LEADERS FIND IT POSSIBLE TO GOVERN WITHOUT CRUELTY AND WITH RESPECT FOR THE DIGNITY OF HUMAN BEINGS.

AND OTHER COUNTRIES, TOO, IN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD, HAVE OUTSTANDING RECORDS ON HUMAN RIGHTS OR HAVE SHOWN SINCERE COMMITMENT TO THE FURTHERANCE OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES.

EACH COUNTRY MUST, OF COURSE, ADAPT THE MACHINERY OF DEMOCRACY TO FIT ITS OWN PARTICULAR NEEDS, A PROCESS THAT YOUR OWN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY HAS ALREADY BEGUN.

THE ONLY COMMON ELEMENTS ARE FREE ELECTIONS AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR THE LAW, AND FOR THE DIGNITY OF ALL MEN AND WOMEN. THESE THINGS ARE NECESSARY NOT ONLY FOR DEMOCRACY--BUT FOR SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT AS WELL.

WHEREVER THESE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES EXIST, A GOVERNMENT CAN ACCOMMODATE TO NECESSARY CHANGE WITHOUT BREAKING, AND ITS PEOPLE CAN DEMAND SUCH CHANGE WITHOUT BEING BROKEN.

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THE PEOPLE OF MY OWN COUNTRY COULD NEITHER BREATHE NOR GROW UNDER FOREIGN TYRANNY--AND SO THEY OVERTHREW THE TYRANTS.

FROM ONE POINT OF VIEW, IT WAS THE ONLY REVOLUTION WE HAD IN MORE THAN THREE CENTURIES.

BUT, FROM ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW, IT WAS THE FIRST OF MANY THOUSANDS OF SMALL REVOLUTIONS--CARRIED OUT AT EVERY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT, EVERY YEAR, EVERY TIME THE PEOPLE GO TO THE POLLS.

OUR GOVERNMENT HAS ENDURED SO LONG BECAUSE OUR REVOLUTION NEVER STOPPED.

I HOPE THE REVOLUTION YOU ARE TO BEGIN SO PEACEFULLY NEXT YEAR WILL LAST EVEN LONGER.

I HAVE SPOKEN OF TWO OF THE THREE GREAT COMMITMENTS IN WHICH MY COUNTRY JOINS YOU. THE THIRD IS OUR COMMON COMMITMENT TO MAJORITY RULE AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS.

MY CONCERN FOR THIS PRINCIPLE LED ME TO SEND VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE TO MEET WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER IN VIENNA LAST MAY. THE MESSAGE THE VICE PRESIDENT CARRIED FROM ME WAS THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES WOULD DEPEND

ON WHETHER SOUTH AFRICA BEGAN MOVING TOWARD FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FOR ALL HER PEOPLE AND AN END TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

WE STAND FIRM IN THAT MESSAGE.

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AFTER THE DETENTIONS AND BANNINGS LAST OCTOBER, MY COUNTRY JOINED IN THE FIRST UNITED NATIONS EMBARGO TO BE IMPOSED ON A MEMBER STATE. I HAVE ENDED OUR EXPORTS TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE AND MILITARY FORCES, AND I HAVE ORDERED A CONTINUING REVIEW OF OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THAT COUNTRY.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE SUPPORTED SUCH MEASURES. A CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION OVERWHELMINGLY CONDEMNED SOUTH AFRICAN OPPRESSION.

BUT WE MUST ALSO KEEP OPEN THE DOOR TO BETTER RELATIONS

WITH SOUTH AFRICA, SHOULD REAL PROGRESS WITHIN THAT NATION
TAKE PLACE.

OUR PURPOSE IS NOT TO IMPOSE ANY PARTICULAR BLUEPRINT OR
MASTER PLAN FOR THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY. THE
SOLUTION MUST BE ONE THAT EMERGES FROM A GENUINE EXCHANGE OF
IDEAS AMONG SOUTH AFRICA'S LEADERS OF ALL RACES. AND IT
MUST RESULT IN THE PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SOUTH
AFRICAN SOCIETY.

I THINK THAT SUCH A SOLUTION WILL BE FOUND.

AS ANDREW YOUNG SAID HERE IN LAGOS LAST AUGUST, BELIEF IN
DREAMS FOR THE FUTURE IS NO ALWAYS NAIVE IF WE ARE READY TO WORK
TO REALIZE THOSE DREAMS.

IN THE NAME OF JUSTICE, MY GOVERNMENT ALSO SHARES WITH
YOURS A COMMITMENT TO SEE NAMIBIA INDEPENDENT OF SOUTH
AFRICA'S ILLEGAL OCCUPATION.

ABOUT A YEAR AGO, THE UNITED STATES AND THE WESTERN COUN-
TRIES ON THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL ORGANIZED A
CONTACT GROUP TO SEARCH, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF RESOLU-
TION 385, FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT TO AN INDEPENDENT
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NAMIBIA.

THAT SETTLEMENT SHOULD INCLUDE FREE ELECTIONS AND INSTITU-
TIONS WHICH FAIRLY REPRESENT ALL THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE.
DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD, AN EFFECTIVE UNITED NATIONS
PRESENCE WILL BE NEEDED.

WE HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE FLEXIBILITY SHOWN BY ALL
SIDES, AND MUCH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. BUT CRITICAL
QUESTIONS REMAIN TO BE SETTLED. ALL PARTIES MUST CONTINUE
TO BE WILLING TO MAKE COMPROMISES IN ORDER TO PRODUCE A
SETTLEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA AND THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

THAT CAN--AND MUST--BE DONE.

THE TRAGEDY OF ZIMBABWE, TOO, CAN BECOME A TRIUMPH OF
STATESMANSHIP. THE HOUR IS LATE, BUT THE POSSIBILITY
OF A PEACEFUL AND SPEEDY TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE
REMAINS ALIVE.

WE SHARE YOUR COMMITMENT TO A SOLUTION BASED ON THESE
PRINCIPLES:

--- FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS;

--- TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE; AND

--- RESPECT FOR THE INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS OF ALL THE CITIZENS
OF AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE.

THE PLAN MY COUNTRY AND GREAT BRITAIN PRESENTED TO THE
UNITED NATIONS IN SEPTEMBER CAN ACHIEVE ALL LTHESE GOALS,
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WHEREAS THE SALISBURY SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL WILL NOT. BUT
THOSE PARTS OF THE SALISBURY PROPOSALS WHICH ACCORD WITH
THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN ARE A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

THE PRESENT CHALLENGE TO OUR DIPLOMACY IS TO HELP ALL THE
PARTIES BUILD ON THE AREAS OF AGREEMENT SO AS TO FIND A
PATH FOR ZIMBABWE THAT DOES NOT LEAD TO A TRAGIC CIVIL WAR.

THE CIVIL WAR WHICH ENDED SLAVERY IN MY OWN COUNTRY WAS
THE BLOODIEST CONFLICT IN OUR HISTORY. EVEN NOW, MORE
THAN A CENTURY LATER, SOME OF ITS WOUNDS REMAIN UNHEALED
AND SOME OF THE EVILS OF THAT TIME LINGER ON.

MY OWN STATE, GEORGIA, ACCEPTED INTEGRATION OF THE RACES
IN THE 1950S AND THE 1960S ONLY AFTER STUBBORN RESISTANCE,
ALWAYS BITTER AND OFTEN VIOLENT.

BUT FINALLY THE WHITE LEADERSHIP CAME TO SEE THAT RACISM
SHACKLES THE OPPRESSOR AS SURELY AS THE OPPRESSED.

AND BY 1974 I WAS ABLE TO DO A THING AS GOVERNOR OF ;EORGIA
THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN UNIMAGINABLE ONLY A FEW YEARS EARLIER.
I HUNG A PORTRAIT IN OUR STATE CAPITOL OF THE GREAT BLACK

LEADER, DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

WHY SHOULDN'T WE BELIEVE, THEN, THAT ONE DAY WE WILL SEE,
ON THE WALLS OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE
PORTRAITS OF STEVE BIKO AND ROBERT SOBUKWE?

WHEN THEIR PORTRAITS JOIN THOSE OF OTHER SOUTH AFRICAN
PATRIOTS OF ALL RACES, WHITES AS WELL AS BLACKS WILL BE
RELIEVED OF A TERRIBLE BURDEN.

ON THAT DAY WHITES AND BLACKS ALIKE WILL FIND THEMSELVES,
IN THE WORDS OF DR. KING, "FREE AT LAST" FREE AT LAST"
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THANK GOD ALMIGHTY, WE ARE FREE AT LAST" VANCE

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